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441 beside his pile facing the other. Each says, "Take these
431 things," and they embrace. The two men's wives then go
572 through the same ritual, and finally, both men and their wives all embrace each other.

441 In this first exchange of goods between *amigri*, and also
• 442 in subsequent exchanges, usually several large baskets of
[438] goods are involved. A typical inventory of goods given
[439] by the man coming from the east consists of feather ornaments, beads, blowgun, blowgun dart poison, a hunting dog, and a home-woven kilt. The other man, with white man's goods from the west, presents black powder, shot, percussion caps, a machete, knives, and a shotgun.

Following the first exchange, the host says to the other, "I will bring you valuables (*kuir*). You do the same for me." His visitor in turn, says, "When I send word to you, then you come to visit me." Such word, when it is transmitted later, usually is carried by some other visitor between the neighborhoods of the two *amigri*. When the former host
441 (often accompanied by a wife) returns the visit, he receives
574 a most hospitable reception. In fact, trading partners tend to try to outdo one another in their generosity. If one man fed the other much chicken during his earlier visit, his friend may then feel it necessary to kill a pig to supply his
[431] guest with even a greater quantity of choice meat. If he has no pig to kill, then at least he insists that his guest and his wife take half of the household's chickens back with them when they return home. The giving of half of one's easily transportable valuables to one's *amigri* is a characteristic feature of the trading partnership.

438 *Amigri* are expected to exchange equal amounts of goods
439 with each other, at least over a period of several months,
442 if not in a single transaction. There are standard recognized

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barter "prices" which guide them in this. In the interior region, typical equivalences in trade goods are the following:

| *Trade Goods from the West* | EQUALS | *Trade Goods from the East (Achuara)* |
|---|---|---|
| 1 pot of salt | | 1 blowgun |
| 1 pot of salt | | 1 gourd of blowgun dart poison |
| 1 machete or 1 steel axe-head | | 1 blowgun |
| 1 single-barrelled muzzle-loading shotgun | | 1 red toucan feather headband (*tsuampi*) |

The precise equivalences of trade goods in the interior region, of course, are not the same as in other parts of the Jivaro territory because of regional differences in the scarcity of various kinds of goods. For example, west of the Cordillera de Cutucú in the frontier zone, the greater quantity of Western-manufactured goods and the lesser supply of Achuara-manufactured goods raises the "prices" which must be paid in the former for the latter.

In actual practice, trading partners do not keep a strict accounting of transactions. Since a variety of valuables is exchanged by two "friends" at one time and since the Jivaro do not value numeration, the exchange is often slightly uneven. In terms of Jivaroan morality, however, it is apparently unthinkable that a "friend" would consistently attempt to take advantage of his partner in such transactions. To do so would jeopardize the continuance of the *amigri* relationship, and possibly the obligation of the host partner to protect the life of his partner against any local enemies.

The *amigri* relationship is viewed as being closer than that

441
• 442

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FIGURE 5
Schematic diagram of a trading partnership chain